21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
LA RECONCAVO

parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person.

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image.

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there

ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

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563 cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

563 Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were
• 848 produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with
(551) the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Recôncavo population is made up of these individuals and their children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

563 Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

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VILA RECONCAVO

[Class D Families]

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nieces, and nephews
46 agregados and hospedes

Examples of the household units are given below.

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TABLE 10
COMPOSITION OF CLASS D HOUSEHOLDS

Status of Head of Family	Age	Occupation	Number of Head of Family's Children Living in House	Number of Others in House
unmarried	62	none	2	4 grandchildren
widow	70	cook	1	1 grandchild; 1 hospede
unmarried	59	laundress	1	4 grandchildren
unmarried	24	laundress	4	none
widow	49	seamstress	4	7 grandchildren, 1 agregado
unmarried	42	cook	3	1 sister, 1 niece, 1 hospede
unmarried	39	laundress	3	1 hospede
unmarried	66	ironing	0	6 nieces & nephews
widow	42	ironing	6	none
unmarried	56	laundress	0	1 grandchild
unmarried	36	laundress	6	1 nephew
unmarried	48	laundress	3	1 brother
married	36	ironing	6	1 mother, 1 nephew
unmarried	38	laundress	3	1 aunt, 1 cousin
unmarried	84	none	0	1 agregado
unmarried	21	ironing	4	none
unmarried	54	laundress	0	1 hospede, 2 agregados
married	52	laundress	1	3 grandchildren

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The household of Damiana is a good example for Class D. Damiana, who is now in her fifties, had a prolonged affair with a married man when she was young, and gave birth to three daughters. Orphaned herself at about the same time, she took her children and went to reside in the house of a good friend who was living in an unmarried relationship with a man. When Maria José, one of her daughters, was sixteen she was deflowered, and Damiana managed through a godfather's influence to force the boy who was responsible to marry the girl. Maria José, however, did not want to live with him, and since

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class D Families]

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no child was born of the affair she went to Salvador where she found employment. There she met Vavá, whom she liked very much. She went to live with him for eleven years and had three children.

During this time, Vavá had affairs with several other women and had two other children. Finally he tired of Maria José and told her to go home to her mother, which she did, taking her three children with her. Damiana's godfather allowed her, Maria José and her children, and Tatá, another of Damiana's daughters who by then had six illegitimate children, to live rent-free in a house he owned. Childless, he took one daughter from each of the two girls to bring up in his own home. [608]

Shortly after the three women had set up this household, Vavá tired of his new companion and wanted Maria José to come back to him, which she refused to do. From time to time he also asked her for money, as he was now unemployed. She always gave him some, since she was employed, explaining that it was not for him but for his two other children, for she could not think of their going hungry.

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In almost every case of break-up of the unmarried state, the children remain with the mother. This is also true in the case of an affair which results in a child. The father never takes on the responsibility of the children. In addition to this, as stated earlier, the children bear the mother's name and not that of the father. Often a break-up occurs because the man goes to live with another woman who does not want the children of his previous union, as she may have some of her own either by him or by someone else. On the other hand, women in Vila Recôncavo say that they would be ashamed to let the children go and be brought up by another woman, except in the case of a godparent, in whose home the treatment is expected to be at least as good as that which the mother could have given the child.

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Sometimes women in this class have affairs with men who are already married and who do not leave their wives and children. A woman seldom has more than one lover at one time, and usually stays with the same man for a long period. Although the man takes no responsibility for the resulting children, he may, nevertheless, try to help the woman sometimes; but his first allegiance is to his own wife and children.

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Unless there has been a formal marriage, the children are always considered as belonging to the mother, and the most

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remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself [464] must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one [157] seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de côr*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

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Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

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This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brazil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MIXED-BLOOD

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EARLY in the colonial period race mixture resulted in an intermediate population group in more favorable position for social advancement. Mulatto slaves, because they were ordinarily chosen by their masters and mistresses for the more delicate and exacting household tasks, to be *mucamas* (maids), *amas de crear* ("mammies"), and other *pessoal de casa* (house servants), early developed into a distinct group apart from the field hands.[1] They were baptized, received the master's name, and often were married in accordance with the prescribed legal and religious practices, thus establishing legitimate families and adding to the social security of their offspring by building up a family tradition.

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Many *mulatinhos*, illegitimate children of the *senhor*, learned to read and to write even more quickly than white, legitimate children, outstripping them in preparatory and even advanced studies. The Recôncavo of Bahia yields a number of such cases.[2] Particularly fortunate, we are told, were the children of priests. Their fathers, being ordinarily from upper-class families and possessing money and prestige, transmitted to their offspring, colored as well as white, ad-

[1] F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 157; Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Métis*, or Half-breeds of Brazil," in *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[2] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), pp. 324–25. The author throughout this chapter is greatly indebted to Freyre's *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), esp. chap. vii.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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vantages of ancestry, social position, intellectuality, and wealth. The professions were readily open to them, and "marriages into the bosom of the most exclusive families"[3] sometimes took place. "More fortunate even than the son of a priest" and "A child of a priest is never unhappy" are expressions still heard at Bahia.[4]

Significant also was the widespread system of *creação*, whereby colored children who were being reared within the master's house, the so-called *crias*, *irmãos de creação*, *malungos*, *muleques de estimação*, gained position as "persons of the house," somewhat comparable to poor relations in the households of medieval Europe. Often they were seated at the patriarchal table as if members of the family. Some even rode in the family vehicle with their masters.

Owing to the peculiar personal associations in which the mulattoes grew up, they tended to develop certain traits favorable to their advancement. They were usually more intelligent, we are told, more aggressive, more dexterous, and more cunning than the pure blacks. Consequently, they were often assigned to the more skilled occupations, such as shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring, where they developed occupational skills symbolic of greater personal worth than ordinarily attaches to unskilled labor.

Because they were liberated in preference to the blacks, the mixed-bloods, early in the colonial period, began to enter the free classes.[5] The disproportion between black

[3] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 324.

[4] "The social ascension of children of priests, both white and light mixed-blood, has always occurred with great facility" (*ibid.*, pp. 323–24).

[5] In addition, the king of Portugal in 1773 intervened in their behalf, denouncing those persons "so lacking in the sentiments of humanity and of religion" that they still keep in slavery persons "whiter than they are" (Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 327).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

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and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

[SALVADOR]

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although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the